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COMMISSION ADMITS 'ERROR'

# AEC false reports were used to derail ban on bomb tests

By Elmer Bendiner

"I BELIEVE that disarmament is a lost cause," said Dr. Edward Teller on the NBC-TV program, "Meet The Press," on March 2. Though not lost, the cause has certainly been badly mislaid by the Atomic Energy Commission. The story of how the push toward a summit conference and a ban on nuclear bomb tests was derailed by misleading AEC reports climaxed a long-standing Washington scandal in which seemingly objective scientists—including Dr. Teller—have been charged with acting as partisan politicians.

Last spring it seemed that a thaw was breaking up the cold-war. Harold Stassen, then the Presidential adviser on disarmament, had been plugging for negotiations with the Russians to suspend nuclear weapons testing. The Russians had accepted but the State Dept. had tied any such negotiations to other conditions recognized as unworkable or unacceptable to the Russians. On June 19 the President leaned toward Stassen. When a reporter, at his regular weekly press conference, asked whether he would accept a temporary suspension proposed by the Russians, the President said:

"I would be perfectly delighted to make some satisfactory arrangement for a temporary suspension of the tests while we would determine whether we couldn't make some agreements that would allow it to be a permanent arrangement."

**THE "CLEAN" BOMB:** On June 24 AEC Chairman Lewis E. Strauss, Dr. Teller and another AEC scientist, Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence, went to the White House and sold the President on the notion that a few more years of testing would produce a "clean" bomb. The adjective, applied to a weapon of terror, horrified millions around the world, but it apparently per-

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**THE FATHER OF THE BOMB**

*This is the name given to Dr. Edward Teller (above) who, along with AEC's Admiral Strauss, seems determined that the monster which he has fathered remain alive and roam at will—even though it threatens all humanity. The uneasiness has spread even to the U.S. Senate where the chaplain spoke on March 12 of this "hallowed moment dedicated to the upward look." See story (left) and editorial (p. 4).*

Herblock, Washington Post

**"You know, Lewis, I think I do detect some blasts."**

IN THE FAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

# Hollowness of anti-communist crusade exposed

By Kumar Goshal

EVENTS IN THE Far East and in North Africa last week showed the U. S. stubbornly pursuing its efforts to saddle its allies with Washington's own fears and obsessions. They also vividly exposed the real reason behind Washington's anti-communist "crusade" and its global military alliances.

On March 11 ministers of the eight Southeast Asia Treaty Organization nations—U.S., Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines—held their fourth annual conference in Manila. From the outset the Asian members tried to shift SEATO's emphasis from the military to the economic field.

Thailand's Foreign Minister Prince Waithayakon urged greater economic cooperation among SEATO members. Philippines Foreign Minister Serrano said he hoped SEATO would promote economic benefits through multilateral projects. Pakistan's Commerce Minister Quizilbash "shook up the opening session" by citing Moscow's tempting offers of financial help without strings, and bitterly complained that "Asian members of SEATO had not been rewarded for aiding the West, while 'neutral nations' such as India were receiving aid from both camps" (AP, 3/11).

**THE REAL REASON:** Both before and during the SEATO conference, Pakistan officials made no secret of the reason why they had joined the U.S. in a military alliance, and how they hoped to take advantage of Washington's phobia against communism: U.S. military aid to annex Kashmir, and economic aid to quiet public discontent in Pakistan.

Three days before the Manila conference, Pakistan's Premier Firoz Khan Noon warned that Kashmir "would become communist" unless freed from the Indian Union. He threatened to pull Pakistan out of SEATO and the Baghdad Pact if the Kashmir issue were not solved in Pakistan's favor by the end of April.

Secy. of State Dulles ignored the Asians' plea for economic aid and stressed the fight against "communist subversion." The SEATO conference's final communique, clearly bearing the Dulles imprint, took a swipe at India and Indonesia by alluding to the "danger arising from some non-communist governments'

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A HOPE FOR THE REVIVAL OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

# 'Put America Back to Work' Conference

By Russ Nixon

*Washington representative of the independent United Electrical Workers*

WASHINGTON

WITH 9,000,000 workers completely or partially unemployed, the AFL-CIO on March 11-12 held a "Put America Back to Work" Conference of nearly 1,000 union officials and staff members in Washington, D.C. Besides hearing speeches on the economic crisis from AFL-CIO leaders, Secy. of Labor Mitchell, and a bipartisan group of Congressmen and Senators, many of the conference delegates visited Capitol Hill in support of quick action on anti-recession measures. The eight-member AFL-CIO Executive Committee visited the White House to make the same pitch to the President.

Opening the conference, AFL-CIO President Meany said the economic situation is bad and getting worse. Meany said "unemployment is now a contagious disease because we have reached the danger point where unemployment is now feeding on itself." This emphatically pessimistic outlook was statistically backed by AFL-CIO Research Director Ruttenberg's report to the conference, and was expressed in a special memorandum left with the President during the White House visit.

Meany spelled out the main anti-recession legislative aims of the AFL-CIO in this order: A tax cut for workers by increasing the tax exemption from $600 to $700 a person plus cuts in excise taxes as the "number one" proposal; second in emphasis is the Kennedy-McCarthy Bill to extend and increase unemployment insurance benefits for 39 weeks; in third place was "increased defense spending"; last in priority was a call for public works.

**NOTHING NEW:** This priority "number three" for more arms spending reflects both progress and weakness in the AFL-CIO program. Progress, because when Meany opened the AFL-CIO Convention just three months ago, his emphasis was almost exclusively on stepping up cold war pressures and spending. Weakness, because even the number three spot reflects continued devotion to and illu-

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# Subscription Campaign Report

Total new subs received, March 1-March 14: 382. This is just 18 under the 200 a week we must average to attain our goal of 10,000 this year. Total for '58 to date: 1,784.

Most urgent need is for additional neighborhood subscription representatives. We have six new representatives in California, six in New York, two each in Michigan and Minnesota, one each in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin and Canada. We also have functioning committees in Bridgeport, Chicago, Berkeley, Los Angeles and New York. Let's have more, in more places.

Won't YOU volunteer TODAY to be the Guardian's representative in your community? Just sign on the dotted line below.

CIRCULATION DEPT.

I'll take the job in my neighborhood. Send further details.

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City ............................ Zone ...... State ..........

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

TOKYO: Six monkeys trained to "operate" a miniature railway at the Ueno Zoo are refusing to work. Zoo officials think they have spotted the "strike" leader, a monkey named Jiro—an import from Communist China.

—San Francisco News, 3/4

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: G. M., San Francisco, Calif.

### Do not be silent!

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

It has been said that truth is not only violated by falsehood, it may be equally violated by silence.

I maintain that, after reading the false statement by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) on the underground small bomb test in Nevada last September, whoever keeps silent on this matter is sharing the responsibility for the results of that statement.

What was the result of the AEC statement? Last June we seemed close to an agreement with the Russians for a two-year ban on tests. The AEC and Dr. Teller have been fighting it ever since; using the argument that nuclear bombs can be exploded without being detected for any great distance and therefore no agreement could be relied on.

Now that this argument has been discredited it is high time for the American people to demand a ban on tests for two years or more, with adequate inspection teams in both countries, and no strings attached.

Write to the President or Mr. Dulles or Senator Humphrey or your newspaper—only write—and help to save the tragedy caused by nuclear fallout.

**Valeda Bryant**

### On Van Wyck Brooks

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Elmer Bendiner's cordial review (GUARDIAN, 2/3) of Van Wyck Brooks' **From a Writer's Notebook**, has served to remind me that Brooks' witty epigrams and "devotion to sweetness and light" still gather a handsome profit in the market place of ideas.

Way back in the Thirties this self-appointed "instructed" soul donned the policeman's blue and took up club and gun against the literary "dull concentration on the mean" and waged a merciless war against Proust, Joyce, Dreiser, Hemingway, Faulkner, Farrell and a whole generation of realistic writers—living and dead.

To Brooks, a "realist" is simply consumed by an all-pervading compulsion to rip, knock, kick and tear the beautiful fabric of human civilization to pieces. The realistic writer, in Brooks' view, is motivated by his own meanness and feelings of self-destruction.

Brooks confuses his own dazzling devotion to morals, dignity, and reverent dedication to the "ideal"—with the sad state of affairs in a real world driving headlong to self-destruction. Worse yet, Brooks attempts to handcuff the writer and blindfold the witnesses to reality by attempting to palm off his vision as the real thing.

**S. W. Schwartz**

*Van Wyck Brooks replies: "No one who has read me could have made any of these comments, and I am not interested in criticism that is based on hearsay."—Editor.*

### Let us pray

E. PALATKA, FLA.

I say nix on Nixon! Let us pray that the national golfer-farmer hangs on to his part-time job, if only to keep Slippery Dick from slipping into the White House. After all, even if he has been away from his desk two years out of five, he and the dullest Secy. of State this country has had since 1776 have done more to split the NATO bloc and undermine U.S. control over the UN assembly than all the socialist countries put together.

**F. A. Blossom**

### Where was Walter?

FIRE ISLAND, N.Y.

According to most of the newspapers I read, Mr. Walter Reuther is a very able labor leader with a capacity to charm reporters, most of whom refer to him affectionately as the "dynamic redhead."

Assuming that a prime function of a labor leader is to win strikes, it seems to me that Mr. Reuther long since might have applied some of his dynamism to the Kohler strike in Sheboygan, Wisc., and prevented it from dragging on for four weary years.

What might have happened if Mr. Reuther had moved his personal headquarters to Sheboygan some years ago with the public announcement that he would remain in personal charge, personally leading the picket line, his income reduced to strike benefits, until the fight was won?

**Old Wobbly**

### Change the routine

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

It would be a great step forward if the workers in the coming fall election could combine on a program whereby they could vote for their own interests instead of the usual routine of merely changing one capitalist politician for another.

**I. Nelson**

### Job Security Act

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We must enact a Federal Job Security Act. Whenever 4% of the national work force is unemployed—partial or otherwise—Congress must appropriate funds and the executive must use these funds to alleviate unemployment.

**Name Withheld**

### Rare enough

ERWIN, TENN.

The railroads are hard up again. Or so they are telling Uncle Sam; and asking, with tears in their Diesel eyes, if he won't please bail 'em out with a few more hundred milllions of the taxpayers' money. I say if the people have got to keep the railroads up, then by Jehosephat's bob-tailed mare, the people ought to own and run them. What do you think?

**Ernest Seeman**

Wall Street Journal

**"Of course, this attache case has the advantage of not crushing your lunch."**

### 35-cent 'Boxcar'

AKRON, O.

Lawrence Emery's review of my novel, **The Big Boxcar**, was very gratifying.

I would like to impose upon your editorial generosity further and ask that you let your readers know that Ballantine Books has now come out with a paper-back edition, selling for 35c.

**Alfred Maund**

### Hinton's papers

CUMBERLAND, WISC.

It is a real pleasure to learn via the GUARDIAN that Mr. William Hinton has had his reports on China returned to him by the government of the U.S. Perhaps he can now make some of them public.

**Charles Beaulieu**

### Pun-nik

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

What with Explorer and Sputnik circling the globe sort of simultaneously, it must be pretty clear to most everyone that we have entered an era of spaceful coexistence.

**Weyman R. Tass**

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REPORT TO READERS

# Postmark U.S.A.

UNCLE JOSH HAYSEED of Tonasket, Wash., says before we demand freedom for Russia's satellites the Original Thirteen Colonies should free the other 35 states and stop trying to despotically coerce Alaska and Hawaii to become U.S. satellites . . . Hank Oettinger of Chicago says Dulles should quit dealing with Chiang Bum Check . . . C. R. Weare of Noxon, Mont., says "Dulles gets my goat" . . . J. N. McCullough of Richmond, Calif., says the trouble here is that "military twaddle crowds out thinking" . . . Stephen Odvody of Friend, Neb., objects to Germans like "Gruenther and then Norstad" running NATO . . . A reader in Sointula, B.C., wants to know "What is Cold War?" and one in Milwaukee asks "What is a billion?" . . . And Rhoda Clarke of Brixham, England, writes, via a man in Chicago, that she thinks her letters to us are being intercepted.

Rhodas' letters are not being intercepted—and neither are yours, friends. They are right here on this desk in a couple of piles a foot high each, despite a full **Mailbag** on this page each week and extra columns and pages of letters elsewhere in the paper every so often (see p. 12).

Sumner Belmont of Worcester, Mass., offers a playlet called "Fantasy or Prophecy?" which has the whole country reduced to rubble except Gettysburg, where Ike is practicing a new golf swing . . . M. L. of Haverhill, Mass., also tries playwriting with a short drama casting Dulles as Lucifer and Mr. and Mrs. U. S. as Adam and Eve.

ON THE VITAMIN FRONT, a favorite codger writes from Illinois that "since taking geriatric pills, I'm feeling like a younker" . . . On the financial front, J. C. Stafford writes from Dayton that even though there is a law against overthrowing the government, there is nothing to prevent people from overthrowing the Federal Reserve . . . Annie Norris laments from Detroit that man frets a lot about his own safety but not enough about the safety of other dumb animals . . . Charles Colcord of Brooklyn quotes Lenin on opportunism and says "I always thought you were pretty sharp: how come you let this one slip by you without comment?" . . . Paul Stewart of Pueblo, Col., asks us to "Try to be an Actualist!" (We try all the time, but always seem to wind up with an extra syllable) . . . A friend from Oakland sends hunger-strike directions for Morton Sobell . . . Cecil Cook of Los Angeles reminds us (as if we needed reminding) of the Peasant War in Hungary in 1525 . . . And Charles Beaulieu of Cumberland, Wisc., writes, on the subject of money and evil:

"It is not at all surprising that the wise Solomon of old wisely stated: (over please)."

SPEAKING OF SOLOMON, Peder R. Sande of Bellingham, Wash., points out that the rewritten version of the Song of Solomon, which we reported in use in South Africa ("I am very dark, but comely, O daughters of Jerusalem" instead of "I am black, but comely," etc.) comes from a 1952 revision of the Bible printed right here in the U.S.A.

On our own affairs, Ida Weller of Manhattan says we ought to spend an extra 25c a month to list ourselves in the New York telephone book as just plain GUARDIAN "for not too bright people like me who always forget it is NATIONAL." . . . and from Seligman, Mo., A D Davis suggests that "If we 33,000 GUARDIAN readers would cancel our subscriptions and send out five 13-week subs each year for five years that would be 825,000 new readers."

WE HASTEN TO SAY that we like our present 33,000 readers very much and don't want any cancellations; we think there must be some other, less deadly way of propagating the faith even unto the 825,000th new reader. We just wish we had the space to print all your letters; and the strength of hand and mind to comment on all your comments.

On this point, we thank our friend Elmer Fish of Canton for taking us off the hook, as follows:

"Don't leave the many letters bother your conscience. You're absolved.

"You people all are busy, very busy, getting out—on time—the best weekly thing in America, at any price."

Elmer says we're the poor man's **Nation** and **New Republic**. He reads them both regularly, too—at the public library. Us he gets by subscription. Need we note that, even though every new reader adds also to our **Mailbag** problem, we're game guys and will welcome 10,000 new readers, in the comfort of their homes and boxcars rather than at public libraries. Only $1 for 13 weeks—and if we haven't published your first letter by then try us free for another 13 weeks. Don't forget to tell your friends of this unique offer.

—THE GUARDIAN

PARIS POLICE CONFISCATED PAPERS THAT PUBLISHED THIS EVIDENCE

# Victim's book reveals French torture system in Algeria

*Last month in France a book was published with the innocent title,* La Question. *Overnight it caused a furore. An issue of the weekly* France Observateur, *which carried excerpts, was confiscated by the Paris police. The reason: the book, by Henri Alleg, former editor of the left-wing Algerian newspaper* Alger Republicain, *describes in gruesome detail Alleg's torture by French paratroopers last summer. Alleg, a European Algerian, had been living in hiding when he fell into a French trap. He managed to smuggle out of prison an account of his experiences. With heroism beyond belief, he resisted electric and water torture, and the temptation to talk while under the influence of a drug.*

*More than 30,000 copies of Alleg's book were sold in two weeks. It has touched the conscience of France as few other works have done—especially of people who lived through the Gestapo tortures of the Occupation. The influential daily* Le Monde *said the practices described by Alleg revealed "a debasement of spirit unworthy of men who wear the French uniform." The Catholic publication* La Croix *estimated that more than 3,000 persons have disappeared under circumstances similar to Alleg's.*

*Earlier this month Jean-Paul Sartre, perhaps France's most influential writer, moved by Alleg's book, wrote a powerful tract indicting his country for the system of torture. On March 6 the newspaper* l'Express *printed excerpts of the tract, entitled* La Victoire; *that issue was confiscated. Next day the police raided a print shop to seize and destroy the tract. The GUARDIAN is attempting to get a copy of* La Victoire *for excerpting.*

*Below are excerpts of Alleg's* La Question, *as they appeared in translation in the British* Manchester Guardian.

J. STILL SMILING, waived in front of my eyes the clips at the ends of the electrodes. Small glittering steel clips, long and toothed. "Crocodile clips," as the telephone engineers call them. He attached one of them to the lobe of my right ear, and the other to a finger of my right hand.

Suddenly I strained against the ropes that tied me, and yelled at the top of my voice. C. had just switched the first shock of electricity through my body. A long spark flashed near my ear, and I felt my heart pounding in my chest. I screamed and twisted, tensing till my muscles hurt, while C., with the switch in his hand, sent the shocks through me one after another. To their rhythm C. repeated the same question over and over, hammering out each syllable: "Where is your hide-out?"

Between shocks, I turned to him and said: "You shouldn't do this. You'll be sorry for it." Furious, C. turned the switch all the way on, and said, "The more you moralize, the more I turn on the juice," and as I went on screaming, he said to J. "Bon Dieu, what a big mouth he's got! Stuff a gag in it!" J. rolled my shirt into a ball and forced it into my mouth, and the torture went on. I bit hard on the cloth, and almost found some relief in doing so. Suddenly I felt as if the teeth of an animal were ripping my flesh. Still smiling over me, J. had clipped the wire on to my penis. The convulsions were so violent that the straps that held my ankles came undone. They stopped to fasten them, and went on.

SHORTLY AFTERWARDS the lieutenant took over from J. He pulled the wire free from one clip, and ran the end of it over my chest. I shook all over with more and more violent convulsions, and the business went on. They had poured water over me so that I would get the full force of the current, and so between shocks I was shivering with cold. Around me, seated on their knapsacks, C. and his friends were drinking bottles of beer. I bit my gag to ease the cramps that were twisting my muscles. No use.

At last they stopped. "All right, untie him!" The first session was over.

I stood up, staggering, and put on my trousers and jacket. K. stood before me. My tie was on the table. He took it, knotted it round my neck like a rope, and, to the laughter of the others, dragged me after him, like a dog, into the adjoining office.

"Well?" he said. "Is that enough for you? We shan't let you go. Get down on your knees!" With his huge lumps of hands he slapped me across the face, putting his full strength into it. I fell to my knees, but I could not hold myself upright. I swayed from side to side, his blows knocking me up straight each time—those that did not flatten me on the ground. "Well, are you going to talk? You know you're done for. You're as good as dead now . . . "

K. roughly pulled me to my feet. He was furious. This was going on too long. "Listen, you bastard! You're finished. You're going to talk!" His face was close to mine, almost touching, and he went on shouting, "You will talk! Everybody talks here. We fought in Indo-China—that's where we learnt about you people. This is like the Gestapo. Have you heard of the Gestapo?" Then, ironically, "So you wrote articles about tortures, did you, you bastard? Well, now you are getting some from the 10th Parachute Division." I heard the torture squad laughing behind me. K slapped my face with his hands, and drove his knee into my stomach. "We'll do what we're doing here in France, too. Your friends Duclos and Mitterand, they'll get what you're getting, and your ——Republic, she'll get it too. You're going to talk, I'm telling you." A piece of hardboard lay on the table. He picked it up and hit me with it. Every blow stupefied me more, but at the same time strengthened my determination not to give in to these animals who flattered themselves that they were as good as the Gestapo.

"CAN YOU SWIM?" L. said, leaning over me. "We're going to teach you. Come on, under the tap."

Between them, they lifted the plank with me tied to it, and carried it into the kitchen. They rested the end where my head was on the sink. Two or three parachutists held the other end. The kitchen was lit only by a faint light from the passage. In the shadows I made out K., C., and Captain D., who now seemed to have taken over. L. fitted a rubber tube to the tap that I could see gleaming above me. Then he wrapped my head in a rag, and D. said, "Put a wedge in his mouth." Through the cloth, L. gripped my nose. He tried to force a piece of wood between my jaws, so that I would be unable to close my mouth or spit out the tube.

When it was all ready, he said to me, "When you want to talk, all you have to do is move your fingers," and he turned on the tap. The cloth quickly became soaked. The water ran everywhere—in my mouth, in my nose, all over my face. But for a while I could still breathe short gulps of air. I tried, by tightening my throat, to swallow as little water as possible, and to resist suffocation, by holding my breath. But I could only manage to do so for a short while. I felt as if I was drowning, and a frightful terror took hold of me, like the terror of death. Involuntarily, every muscle in my body tightened in a vain effort to rescue me from suffocation. Involuntarily, the fingers of both hands moved wildly. "That's it! He's going to talk!" said a voice.

The water stopped flowing, and they took the cloth away from my face. I could breathe again. In the shadows I could see the lieutenants, and the captain, with a cigarette in his mouth, striking swinging blows at my stomach, to make me throw up the water I had swallowed. Drunk with the air I was breathing, I hardly felt the blows. "Well?" I said nothing. "He's making mugs of us! Put his head back under!"

This time I clenched my fists, digging my nails into my palms. I was determined not to move my fingers again. I might as well die of suffocation straight away. I was afraid that once again I should have that terrible sensation of sinking into unconsciousness, and struggling against death with all my strength. I did not move my fingers, but three times in succession I felt that intolerable fear. When I was in extremis, they let me get my breath back while they made me throw up the water I had swallowed.

The next time I lost consciousness. . . .

WHEN, a long time afterwards, the door opened again, K. came in, with two officers I had not seen before. In the darkness, one of them crouched down by me, and put a hand on my shoulder in a confidential manner. "I am General M's aide-de-camp." This was Lieutenant M. "I'm sorry to see you like this. You're 36—that's too young to die." He turned to the two others and asked them to go out. "He wants to talk to me alone," he told them. The door closed, leaving us together.

"Are you afraid that someone will know you talked? Nobody will know. We'll take you under our protection. Tell me everything you know, and I'll have you transferred to the hospital immediately. In one week you'll be back in France with your wife. You have our word. Otherwise, you will disappear."

He waited for an answer. I gave him the only one that came into my head. "That's too bad!"

"You have children," he went on. "Perhaps I could see them. Would you like me to tell them that I knew their father? Well? You don't want to talk? If you let me leave here, they will come back. And this time they won't stop."

I remained silent. He got up, but before he went he said, "The only thing left for you is to kill yourself."

**THE RIGHT HAND AND THE LEFT HAND . . .**
*While French paratroopers in Algeria boast to their victims that they are the new Gestapo, the French government has announced four new postage stamps (above) honoring victims of the Hitler Gestapo during the Resistance.*

POWELL-SCHUMAN LAWYER SEEKS TO BRING THEM HERE

# 1,000 Chinese willing to testify on germ warfare

A THOUSAND CHINESE citizens are prepared to testify to the truth of reports that U.S. armed forces used germ warfare and committed aggressive acts against Chinese neutrality in the Korean war, said Los Angeles attorney A. L. Wirin upon his return from China early in March.

Wirin, the first American to receive a passport for travel to China, spent seven weeks gathering evidence for his clients John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman. The defendants are charged with sedition because of stories carried in the now-defunct **China Monthly Review.** Powell was publisher and editor of the **Review,** an English-language magazine published in Shanghai before and during the Korean War.

Among the witnesses, who have agreed to appear, Wirin said, were four ex-officials of the Chinese Nationalist government: Wong Wen-hao, former premier; Gen. Wei Li-huang, former field marshal in Manchuria; Chi Chao-ting, former manager of the Bank of China, and Judge Mei Ju-au, Chinese representative at the trial of Japanese war criminals after World War II.

**GROUND FOR ACQUITTAL:** The lawyer also talked with Chinese scientists who studied the evidence. Among them were entomologists, pathologists and bacteriologists educated in such U.S. universities as Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Cornell and the U. of California. He was shown "a bomb with American markings," which allegedly had been filled with flies, beetles and midges carrying anthrax bacilli. Anthrax is a contagious and malignant animal disease. The evidence presented to Wirin included the preserved brain of a man said to have died from respiratory anthrax.

Regarding the evidence, Wirin said: "My skepticism regarding it is now substantially dissipated." He contended there was a "sufficient amount of it to support a verdict of acquittal." After presenting the evidence to Federal Judge Irving Goodman in San Francisco on March 24, Wirin will go to Washington to attempt to arrange through the State Dept. to bring witnesses to the U.S.

China insists that the U.S. negotiate an agreement for "judicial assistance" before this can be done and to date the State Dept. has refused to consider such an agreement. Unless arrangements are made for the appearance of witnesses and evidence in the U.S. court, Wirin said, he will move for dismissal or indefinite postponement of the case on the ground that "the State Dept. is preventing the defense from securing evidence."

*"Not for one moment do I think that the purpose of the American State Department is to make friends."*
—JOHN FOSTER DULLES

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON HARRY TRUMAN AND THE BOMB

# Is there a measure of pity for a very small man?

ROBERT TRUMBULL of the N.Y. Times' Tokyo Bureau last year wrote that the atomic bomb had brought "combat conditions to everyone's living room." He wrote a book, **Nine Who Survived Hiroshima and Nagasaki**, to bring that point home to people. In it he said that "radiation indeed brought the onset of old age and death somewhat earlier to Hiroshima and Nagasaki." He noted the increased incidence of leukemia and cataracts. The American Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, more than a decade after Hiroshima and Nagasaki were blasted, noted that there was a higher rate of babies deformed at birth, of the still-born and of miscarriages.

One survivor of Hiroshima told Trumbull that after the bomb fell in 1945 he saw the burned leaving the city and "thought of a ghost parade from hell." That parade now goes on into the second generation.

It is conceivable that a man in the fever of war, and with perhaps no vision of the horrors he was unleashing, might have given the signal to drop the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the belief that he was right.

It is harder to imagine that such a man, seeing the horrors that have come upon the Japanese babies unborn at the time of the blast, could remark 13 years later that he has "no qualms" about his fateful order. It is inconceivable that a man, knowing the atomic horror that now haunts the living rooms and the nurseries of all the world, should feel no regrets.

YET HARRY S. TRUMAN has proven equal to this test. When the City Council of Hiroshima protested his announcement that he suffered "no qualms" he replied last week. He said the Japanese had brought it on themselves by the "shot in the back" at Pearl Harbor and by refusing to surrender. He said that the bomb had saved Japan from an invasion that, according to military estimates, would have cost the lives of 250,000 Allied invaders and an equal number of Japanese. The A-bombing, he said, "was urgent and necessary for the prospective welfare of both Japan and the Allies."

We asked the noted authority on Asia Arthur Upham Pope for comment. He said: "Oceans of plausible-sounding excuses will never wipe out that damned spot which is a dark stain on our history. Mr. Truman has assumed that the military intelligence forecast of casualties that were to be saved by the wholesale massacres were absolutely sound and dependable. Was military intelligence correct in estimating the defense of the Maginot Line? Were they correct in estimating the resistance of the Polish army? And what a fantastic error they made in estimating Russia's ability to resist!"

In the spring of 1945 the war was over in Europe. The Russians were about to throw their massive weight into the balance against Japan—though, to some in Washington, this seemed more a menace than a hope. Most of the Pacific islands had already fallen to the Allies. And the A-Bomb was in the President's hands.

FATE MISCAST Harry Truman. It put a small man in a great man's role. It enabled him to go on and sanction the dropping of gasoline bombs to burn other non-white people in Korea, in a senseless conflict which will go down in history as "Harry Truman's war."

Witnessing the ghostly parade from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, some Americans might have blamed themselves (many innocent ones did). Some might have cried out against all war. Most at least would maintain a mourner's silence.

But Harry Truman told the ghosts and their bereaved ones and their deformed ones that he had no qualms. Perhaps, mixed with their contempt, the people of Japan—and the world—will have a measure of pity for one small man.

—THE EDITORS

## AEC false reports

*(Continued from Page 1)*

suaded the President to shelve all negotiations for suspending the tests.

The AEC resumed its drumfire against the increasing number of scientists who warned of the dangers of continued testing and called for top-level negotiations to end them. The AEC said the dangers were negligible and, in any case, a ban was unworkable because tests could be kept secret from any practical monitoring system.

On Sept. 19 the AEC held a test designed, among other things, to show that bomb blasts could escape detection. It was a "little, tiny atom bomb," as the AEC's Dr. Willard F. Libby described it later. He said the "little fellow" was touched off 2,000 feet inside a Nevada mountain at a point 800 feet from the top. Still, the baby bomb crushed to rubble some 400,000 tons of rock and made the mountain jump six inches. The AEC promptly announced that the blast was not detectable more than a few hundred miles away.

**SHIFT TO THE SENATE:** There were press reports that seismographs had picked up the shock waves in distant parts of the world, but officially the AEC report stood: an atom bomb had been touched off almost without detection. It seemed to doom hopes for a test-suspension plan.

Scientists who questioned the AEC report brought the matter to the attention of the Disarmament Subcommittee of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee. On Feb. 28 Stassen told the subcommittee that seismographs as far as 1,000 miles away had picked up the underground shot. The AEC, in a statement issued on March 4, stuck to its figure of 250 miles.

Then, subcommittee chairman Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) checked with the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and found that almost every seismograph in the Western U.S. had recorded the underground shot, and that it had been noted as far away as Fairbanks, Alaska, 2,300 miles from the blast.

**INQUIRY IS ASKED:** On March 7 the AEC made its first inquiry of the Coast and Geodetic Survey and on March 11 it issued a terse correction, admitting its earlier figure was way off. Dr. Hugo Wolfe, acting chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, said it appeared that the AEC's "purpose was to mislead the American public and to influence public opinion against the idea of an agreement on inspected cessation of nuclear testing. In view of the gravity of its subject and its relation to the future welfare of all mankind, I suggest that an official inquiry into the methods and viewpoints of the AEC is long overdue."

Hope for such a probe died fast when the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, in a hearing on March 15, accepted Dr. Libby's statement that "there was absolutely no intent to deceive anyone." It was called an "honest error." But on March 16 Dr. Libby modified earlier opposition to banning nuclear tests; he proposed quotas on the amount of radioactive material each country could send into the atmosphere.

AEC and its scientists, particularly Teller, have come under bitter attack from scientific quarters before. Harrison Brown, professor of geo-chemistry at the California Institute of Technology, last week read a paper shortly to be published by the **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists**. In it Brown charges that Teller is "motivated by a deep-rooted hatred of the Soviet Union which borders on the fanatical" and is "willfully distorting the realities of the situation."

**TELLER'S "SMALL DOSES":** Dr. Teller, who is credited with fathering the H-Bomb and with beating down opposition to it by more thoughtful colleagues, has held that the bomb can be used in small doses "to liberate oppressed people without bombing them to bits." He said that nuclear explosions have no more effect on a person than the radium in his wrist-watch dial. Scientists have pointed out the fallacy in the wrist-watch theory by noting that people do not take wrist-watch radium internally or wear it where it would effect their genitalia. In the latter cases, even such an amount could be harmful.

Teller and the AEC have said that nuclear testing could go on indefinitely without danger, though AEC researchers note a 50% rise of deadly strontium-90 in the bones of children. For a year after the blast at Bikini that showered the unlucky Japanese fishing schooner Lucky Dragon, the AEC concealed the range and destructiveness of the weapon. It angered Japan by denying what was evident to the Japanese—that its seamen had been seriously injured, one of them fatally—and that its fish supply had been contaminated by the blast.

**CLICKING COUNTERS:** In 1955 the AEC announced that no shot in that year's spring series in Nevada would exceed the yield of any shots in the 1953 series. Yet a year later the director of the tests admitted the promise was false. The AEC had repeatedly said there was no danger from the Nevada tests, but an on-the-spot survey by **The Reporter** magazine (May 16, 1957) showed school rooms where the Geiger counter couldn't click fast enough to register the radioactivity; women dying of leukemia attributed to radiation; people losing their hair, and sheep, horses and cattle dying after drinking from irradiated water holes.

Editor Robert A. Crandall of the Tonopah, Nev., **Times-Bonanza**, told **The Reporter** that AEC agents would visit him after he reported events casting doubt on AEC assurances. He quoted them as saying in effect: "Well, of course, the communists would like us to stop the tests, too."

Drawing by Walter Der

"HELLO, CAPE CANAVERAL? .. . WELL, PROFESSOR, IS IT UP?"

Last July the San Francisco **Chronicle** carried an editorial entitled: "A SUGGESTION FOR THE AEC: COMMIT SUICIDE." It said the AEC "has grown so that its tentacles extend into nearly every field of national activity—diplomacy, power development, public health, basic research, education, medicine, agriculture and the use of vast areas of public lands . . . Split and fused atoms are here to stay. They should be taken from behind the curtain and introduced to the people. Like the rest of science and invention they should be incorporated into the democratic way of life."

**MARS BLUFF, S.C.:** Popular uneasiness was heightened last week when a B-47 jet bomber accidentally dropped an A-bomb on a farm in Mars Bluff, near Florence, S.C. It left a crater 35 feet deep and 75 feet wide, damaged six houses and a church, but almost miraculously killed no one. Six persons were injured. The damage was caused by TNT used to trigger the bomb which was not armed and thus did not explode as a nuclear weapon. Though the AEC and the Defense Dept. issued prompt assurances that there would be no fall-out, they rushed decontamination teams to the area. Both agencies said that materials released in such an accident "could be hazardous only if taken internally, as by breathing."

The people of Mars Bluff and the rest of the nation held their breath as the realization grew that bombers were constantly in the skies loaded with nuclear weapons. The N.Y. **Times** on March 13 said: "An undisclosed number of accidents involving atomic bombs has occurred since the Air Force started carrying the perfected weapons in training and alert flights." It was known that another bomb had been jettisoned into the sea after an air collision.

**OH, MY GOSH!:** The accident had repercussions around the world, particularly in England where a campaign is under way against the flight of nuclear-armed aircraft on alert missions. There were two fears: (1) that an aircrew could "goof," as one did in South Carolina; (2) more seriously, that someone could mistake the boner for a real atomic attack and give the signal for reprisals.

Humanity could be wiped out by a young pilot who might say, as did the one over Mars Bluff last week: "My Gosh, I just lost a bomb."

ACPFB RESTRICTED

## Court limits assistance to the foreign born

THE NEW YORK State attorney general and the courts have forced the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to register as a charitable organization but have barred the Committee from financing legal aid to individuals fighting deportation, denaturalization or other victimization by immigration authorities.

The Committee may publicize such cases but can raise funds only for its legislative and educational work for improved immigration laws, under a stipulation signed March 11 ending 30 months of harassment under a N.Y. law enacted in 1954 to curb fake charities.

The attack on the Committee was begun by then Atty. Gen. (now U.S. Senator) Jacob Javits and continued by his successor, Louis J. Lefkowitz. The Committee was forced to capitulate without fighting the case further in the courts because it had been enjoined since last June from raising funds even for its own defense.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD PUBLISHES RESULTS OF SURVEY

# Jimcrow still rides high in field of housing

By Louis E. Burnham

THERE IS A SINGLE block in New York City in which 3,871 people live. The block is in Harlem; its residents are Negroes. They want to get out of the dreary tenements, reduced to decay and ruin by years of hard use and neglect. But they can't. Some are too poor to move. Others can afford a better home, a better neighborhood, but they, too, are condemned to stay—or to move on to another block, usually in Harlem, not much better than their present home.

This is the modern American ghetto. It is almost as if society had ringed this block, this community, with a high fence and marked it: Negroes must live here!

Segregation in housing has yielded less to popular demand than any other field. It limits and threatens to cancel gains won in the battle to integrate schools, establish fair employment practices and insure equal access to public facilities. It creates slums which not only imprison the minorities condemned to live in them, but also threaten the health and security of the entire community.

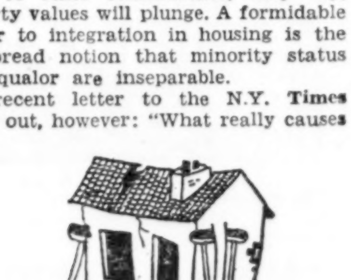
**THE 22 MILLION:** The difficulties and the prospects of eliminating jimcrow in housing are the subject of a recent survey conducted by the National Lawyers Guild. Results of the survey are published in the current (Spring) issue of the Guild **Review.**

Almost 22,000,000 Americans are directly affected by the invisible "white only" sign on most of the country's real estate. Of these, more than 18,000,000 are what the census describes as "non-whites," 17,000,000 Negroes and about a million other colored people. Three million or more are Puerto Ricans and Mexicans.

It is estimated that 40,000,000 dwelling units are out of bounds for these Americans. A 1946 government report showed that of 3,293,406 homes occupied by non-whites 35% needed major repairs as against 16% of white homes. Almost 50% of all non-white homes had outdoor privies. While 82% of white homes had electricity, 57% of the non-white did not.

**PROPERTY VALUES:** The social blight so apparent in Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican communities has provided the argument used by real estate interests to keep the slum intact. If these people move to other communities, they say, property values will plunge. A formidable barrier to integration in housing is the widespread notion that minority status and squalor are inseparable.

A recent letter to the N.Y. **Times** points out, however: "What really causes



Humanite, Paris

property depreciation is overcrowding and lack of proper maintenance. This will never stop as long as minorities are confined within limited areas of the city, which permits landlords to take advantage of their helplessness." At a rate of concentration comparable to the Harlem block, the entire U.S. population could be housed in half of New York City. The consequences in terms of disease, crime and the inadequacy of community facilities would be disastrous for the nation.

**SHAKEDOWN:** The Guild survey points out that only bigots and unscrupulous real estate merchants profit from residential segregation. The ghetto seems to justify the former's contention that

**THE BLIGHT OF JIMCROW**
*The landlord takes advantage . . .*

Negroes—because they are poor and live in substandard dwellings—are inferior. The latter reap a huge profit in extra-high rents from tenants to whom most of the market is closed. And when a Negro succeeds in buying property in a previously lily-white neighborhood, speculators encourage white residents to sell in panic. This enables the broker to buy low and sell high. For there are always scores of Negro families waiting and eager to occupy each newly-vacated house on the new residential beachhead.

Thus, "it is not the occupancy by members of the minority groups that depresses real estate values, but the myth or fear that this depression of value will occur." It is like a run on a bank: nothing will guarantee its failing so much as the rumor that it's failing. But in housing even this dip in values is at best temporary, almost momentary. It lasts from the moment word spreads that Negroes have moved in down the block or across the street to the moment the white neighbors turn over to a broker the homes in which they have invested their life's savings, at a loss. It is more than restored the moment the broker sells the same property at inflated prices to the Negro newcomers.

**OUGHT TO BE A LAW:** Jimcrow in housing is maintained by a wide variety of sanctions. Some are legal and take the form of state constitutional and municipal code provisions, statutory and administrative regulations, or zoning ordinances. Restrictive covenants, though unenforceable in the courts, are still prevalent. Beyond these are economic compulsions such as the refusal to finance construction or repairs of property for minorities. Discrimination in the use of community facilities and subjecting minorities to social indignities play an important part. And where none of these is effective, violence is a last resort.

As a result of all these measures, less than 1% of the 9,000,000 new homes built between 1935 and 1950 were open to Negroes. As of 1952 only about 50,000 out of almost 3,000,000 dwellings insured with public money through the Federal Housing Agency were available to them.

The correction of this situation lies first of all, the Guild survey contends, in firm governmental policy. Housing anti-discrimination laws will "disperse the demand of minority groups among all neighborhoods and will, at the same time, eliminate areas of majority exclusiveness to which the panic-stricken may run."

**LEGAL BASIS:** The survey traces the history and the status of such laws on a federal, state and municipal level. On a national scale, Congress has adopted no law relating to segregation in public or other housing. Many legal experts are agreed, however, that it has the authority to do so. One of the 1866 Civil Rights Statutes, adopted to implement the 13th Amendment, provides: "All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property." On several occasions the courts have upheld this principle as applied to the government's public housing program.

In 1957 five states passed laws dealing with discrimination in housing: Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oregon, Washington and Minnesota. The first four prohibited discrimination in publicly-assisted housing. Minnesota declared that equal opportunity to "buy, rent and enjoy" property is a civil right, and set up a commission to conduct a two-year study of the situation in that state. Previously state laws had been passed in Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and New York.

**N.Y.C. SETS PACE:** About 30 cities have ordinances forbidding segregation in publicly financed or assisted housing. [See box on this page]. Only one, New York, has banned jimcrow in private housing. The Isaacs-Brown-Sharkey bill last September survived a heated passage through the City Council, and will take effect April 1. Under the stimulus of New York's example, fair housing legislation covering private housing has recently been introduced in seven other cities. The Lawyers Guild survey includes a model bill upon which legislation may be patterned in other areas.

Public and cooperative housing have been the opening wedges from which the practice of non-discrimination has spread, ever so slowly, to private dwellings. Many of the co-op projects have been sponsored by such unions as the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers, the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen, and the United Auto Workers.

**THE FUTURE—IF ANY:** The survey points out that often what is needed to change an all-white community into an integrated one is simply a determined, active force, a "beneficial agent," prepared to overcome the obstacles of the banks and lending agencies, allay unfounded community fears, and strengthen the nation's communities with the richness of integrated, intercultural living. The opposition, though virulent, does not run so deep as is commonly supposed. A Dec., 1956, report of the National Opinion Research Center revealed that 58% of Northerners would not object to Negro neighbors, an increase of 23% since 1942.

Under the pressure of the fast-growing Negro urban communities, continued segregation foreshadows "the decay of cities a. I ever-widening racial hatred and tension," the Lawyers Guild contends. The alternative is "friendship, mutual help and the advantage of social tranquility and harmony." In a world in which a majority of the people are colored "there need not be—indeed, there cannot be—a continuing process of racial hatred. The future can only be a future of racial harmony and peace—or there will be no future at all."

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TEXTS OF STATE and city laws and resolutions of Public Housing Authorities relating to fair housing practices are included in a pamphlet entitled: **Nondiscrimination Clauses in Regard to Public Housing, Private Housing and Urban Redevelopment Undertakings,** October, 1957 (revised).

This government pamphlet may be obtained from the Home Finance Agency, Washington, D.C.

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COUNCILMAN ISAACS TO SPEAK

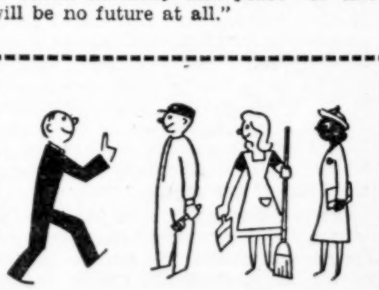
## N.Y. meeting Mar. 26 on jimcrow housing

INTEGRATION in housing will be the theme of a meeting sponsored by the New York City chapter of the Natl. Lawyers Guild at the Hotel Victoria, Seventh Ave. & 51st St., Wed., March 26, at 8 p.m.

Speakers will include Dr. Algernon D. Black, chairman, Natl. Committee on Discrimination in Housing; Dr. Robert M. MacIver, professor emeritus of political philosophy, Columbia Univ.; Hubert T. Delaney, Guild vice-pres. and chairman of the Inter-Group Committee on New York's Public Schools, and Stanley M. Isaacs, minority leader of the City Council.

Isaacs was one of the sponsors of the law passed by the Council last year to ban discrimination in private housing. The law takes effect April 1.

The conference will explore all aspects of the integration problem in the housing field and will consider similar legislation on a state level.

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IF A 6-YEAR-OLD CAN LEARN, SO CAN ADULTS

# Little Jimmy Braden gets a lesson on rights

*Carl Braden and his wife, Anne, were the central figures in the famous Kentucky sedition case in which they and other white persons were indicted because they helped a Negro family buy a home in a segregated Louisville suburb. Before the case was finally dismissed following the Supreme Court ruling outlawing state sedition laws, Carl Braden (sentenced to 15 years) spent eight months in prison. The Bradens still live in Louisville and both are now Field Representatives of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Following are excerpts from a talk at the Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn, N.Y., last month during the parish's seventh annual Negro History Week celebration.*

By Carl Braden

WITHOUT STRUGGLE there can be no progress. This is one of the things bothering people today. Many people are saying, "Oh, there are terrible things happening in the South. Governor Faubus calls out the troops. They blow up schools in Nashville. They blow up houses in Louisville. They beat up people on the streets in Birmingham." Certainly, these atrocities should not be committed but out of these things can come the realization of what we are trying to do. The problem is to do something creative out of these events that look so terrible and make the future look so dark. It is up to us to grab hold of them and do something creative. That is what we are trying to do in the South.

There is a process of education that goes on as a result of these struggles. The people in the South are learning to live together, a few here and there perhaps, but more and more of them, and this results from the fact that there is a process of struggle.

How the education process comes about in race relations has been demonstrated in my own family within the last year. I'd like to tell you this little story about my son Jimmy.

WHILE I WAS IN PRISON, Jimmy spent ten months with his grandparents in Alabama. This was from the age of three until he was almost four. This was three years ago and I am not so sure that his stay in Alabama did not have some effect on him. It was demonstrated when, about a year ago, the schools in Louisville were desegregated, or at least we had token integration. Jimmy was the only white child to attend his kindergarden. We are the only white family that did not transfer our child out of our school.

We got through the kindergarten year all right but we noticed that Jimmy was having difficulties. We had to take him to the Child Guidance Clinic. We tried to talk to him about how some people had their ancestors come from Africa, and other people had their ancestors come from Europe, and they were a different color; that originally all people originated in Asia.

Jimmy likes to look at the globe of the world, so we told him how some people went into the snow lands and their skins turned yellow because of snow glare; some of them went to Africa and their skins turned black because of the sun; and some went to Europe and their skins turned white because of the clouds. He understood this intellectually [Laughter] but his emotions had not been trained as yet; and this is exactly what is happening to a lot of people in the South, and is the reason I want to tell you the rest of this story.

WELL, COME LAST SUMMER and vacation time, he went down to Alabama to visit his grandparents, who disagree with me on this question about as much as it is possible to disagree with anybody. When he came back, he did not say anything but something happened. The children next door to us—there were four of them—transferred to the white school.

All of a sudden, Jimmy began to come up with remarks like "these colored people moving in around here." Our neighborhod is somewhat mixed; it is a checkerboard pattern, one block white, the next block Negro, and so on. Pretty soon he said, "Daddy, why are you sending me to a nigger school?" I said, "What!" He said, "Don't you know I'm going to a nigger school? I'm the only white boy there!"

I said, "What's the matter with that? I thought you understood that some peoples' skins are dark, and some are white, and besides that, I don't want you using that term nigger! That is a terrible term to be using. These people are called Negroes, just like white people are called Caucasians, and you ought not to be distinguishing people by their color anyway."

So this went on, and he entered the first grade, the only white child in the school. Gradually one thing that happened was that he became attached to a little girl in his class named Lynette, so this eased the situation. [Laughter] Another reason the situation was eased was that our little girl, who is five years old, and three other white children entered the kindergarten. This was gradualism almost to the extreme! [Laughter] Anyhow, the problem still existed. What happened next was that the four white children moved away and a Negro family moved in.

JIMMY AND SISTER ANITA
*No use putting Pop in jail*

LAST WEEK THINGS REALLY came to a head. Jimmy came home and said: "Daddy, we heard about Harriet Tubman in school today. They said she was a very great woman, that she saved 300, maybe 400 people, that she took the slaves from the South and got them to Canada. Why were these people slaves?"

I said: "Jim, we explained that to you before. They brought these people over here because they wanted to work them for nothing—the lazy, shiftless, white people—they needed people to do their work for them [Laughter], so they brought these people over here from Africa and put them to work."

He said: "Didn't they do anything to get free?"

"Yes," I said, "almost 100 years ago they were officially freed by President Lincoln. We have been over this before."

He said, "I remember now."

I said: "But the thing of it is, Jimmy, that in the last 100 years we have been trying to reestablish real freedom in this country. That is the reason I had to go to prison, because we are taking part in this struggle."

"Well," he said, "why don't the Negro people fight?"

I said: "Jim, they are fighting."

"Oh," he said, "are you fighting with them?"

"Yes," I replied, "that is exactly what I am doing—mother and I are both working with the Southern Conference Educational Fund to try to get white people to see how wrong it is to deny other people their rights."

"Oh, so that's it," he asked, "we want to get our rights? We don't want to be pushed around?"

"Yes," I said, "that's right; we don't want to see anybody else pushed around."

"That's why they put you in jail?" "Yes."

"When you got out of jail, you kept on fighting?" "That's right."

Then he said: "They're not going to put you in jail any more because they know it won't do any good!" [Laughter and prolonged applause].

This morning when I left home for the airport, he said: "Good luck, Daddy, we're all behind you." [Laughter].

This is from a boy six and a half years old! If a boy six and a half can learn, why the rest of the people can learn, too. All the struggle needs is patience, firmness, conviction, understanding and compassion. That is what we are trying to apply to the situation in the South.

A 2½ x 3 INCH PLEA FOR TOLERANCE
*The Southern Conference Educational Fund has issued a tiny 36-page booklet with drawings and text by Frank Hanley as another weapon in the war on prejudice. They are 10c each, or 12 for $1, postpaid, from Fund headquarters at 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.*

BID FOR UNITY MADE

# Plan independent socialist ticket in Penna. elections

Special to the Guardian
PHILADELPHIA

THE PENNSYLVANIA Socialist Workers Party has announced plans to place an independent socialist ticket on the ballot for the coming state elections.

While collecting signatures for its own candidates, the SWP says it will continue to seek agreement among other groups for a united ticket. In a Feb. 18 letter to the Communist Party, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist Labor Party and the Independent Socialist League, the SWP urged an immediate conference "to discuss the creation of a united socialist ticket and the planks of a socialist platform upon which we can have common agreement." To date, none of the groups have replied.

**TIME IS SHORT:** The SWP has nominated Herbert Lewin, well-known unionist, for Governor. He has previously run for Governor and Senator on the SWP ticket. Other nominees are: For Lieutenant-Governor, Eloise Fickland, active in the civil rights and trade union movements; for U.S. Senator, Ethel Peterson, a Philadelphia bookkeeper; for State Secy. of Internal Affairs, Louis Shoemaker, a Perkasie farmer.

To get on the Pennsylvania ballot, independent nominees must file a minimum of 12,015 signatures. The SWP aims at 16,000 to assure a ballot place. The period for the collection of signatures is brief, running from March 18 to April 8.

Mittelberg in Eulenspiegel, Berlin
**"Hereditary malformations? I can't, for the life of me, see it."**

MARCHERS HEAD FOR UN

# 'Walk for Peace' to protest bomb tests

ON MARCH 29 VOLUNTEERS from New Haven and Philadelphia will begin a "Walk For Peace" to United Nations headquarters in New York. The hike will demonstrate support for the expedition of the Golden Rule into the danger zone of the Pacific where the U.S. has scheduled nuclear tests this spring. The Golden Rule, forced back once by storms, is due to sail again from San Pedro on March 20.

The peace-walkers plan to hold meetings along the way and reach New York on April 3. They will carry placards reading: "We Are Walking to the United Nations to Ask All Nations To End Nuclear Tests." The demonstration is sponsored by the Walk For Peace Committee which included some of those associated with the voyage of the Golden Rule. Among them are: A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin and Robert Gilmore.

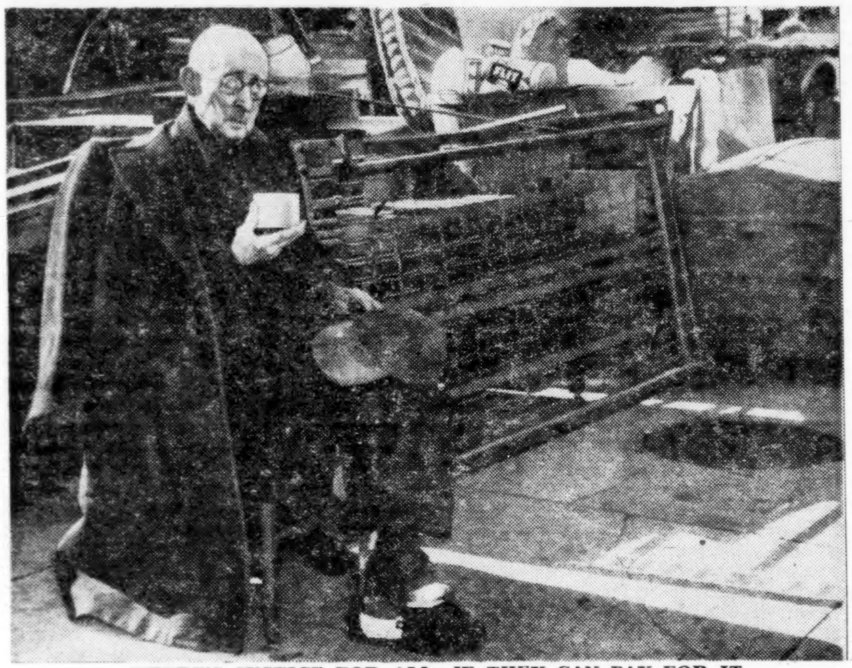
MAJORITY OF ACCUSED CAN'T AFFORD LAWYERS

# New study shows law still 'grinds the poor'

OFFHAND, ONE would suppose that the administration of justice in 20th Century America had advanced far beyond the condition described by Oliver Goldsmith in the harsh and early days of the industrial revolution in England. Goldsmith noted that "law grinds the poor and rich men rule the law."

The fact is, though, that the difference is more apparent than real. A survey recently released by the Natl. Lawyers Guild reveals that the cost of justice, like everything else, is almost sky-high in the U.S.A. The folks who need it most can usually afford it least.

Fifty per cent of the defendants in indictments voted by the Grand Jury in Chicago during the past several years could not afford an attorney. In Memphis the figure was 56%, in Boston "more than half." For the nation as a whole the most serious problem in criminal law is how to get equal justice and due process for the **majority** of those accused.



**THERE'S JUSTICE FOR ALL—IF THEY CAN PAY FOR IT**
*Harry Cook (above) couldn't, so he's evicted. Cases like his swamp the Legal Aid Society*

**'RIGHT' TO COUNSEL:** There can be no question that these indigent defendants **need** lawyers. Most stand before the bar frightened by the forbidding language and stern procedures of the courts; some are in an actual state of shock. They are often friendless and homeless. Many are members of minority groups which are seldom represented on the juries of their "peers". Others speak and understand English with difficulty, or not at all.

Whether such defendants get the lawyers they so desperately need depends on circumstances beyond their control. The Supreme Court has ruled that in every Federal criminal case the defendant has a right to counsel.

The great majority of felonies, however, come to trial in state courts, and here the practice varies widely. All states are required to provide adequate representation in capital cases. But if

the defendant's life is not at stake—if he is merely liable, upon conviction, to five, or ten, or 99 years—there is no national rule of conduct which guarantees him the lawyer he can't afford.

**DUE PROCESS?** In a 1948 case, **Bute v. Illinois**, the Supreme Court, over the dissents of Justices Black, Douglas, Murphy and Rutledge, refused to require assignment of counsel in non-capital cases in state courts. Justice Black commented: "Certainly due process shows no less solicitude for liberty than for life."

What happens, then, in the states? Only ten provide for the assignment of lawyers, with compensation determined by law or fixed by the court in other than capital cases. New Jersey is one of these. There counsel is assigned to impoverished defendants from county lists of lawyers, taken alphabetically. As a result every lawyer in the state is assigned to a criminal case once every two or three years.

The main objection to this system is that it does not provide funds for proper investigation, a vital necessity in most serious criminal cases. Further, some of the attorneys may be inexperienced in criminal trial work or trial work generally. Since 1956 judges have been permitted to deviate from the alphabetical list where the seriousness of the alleged offense warrants it.

**LEGAL AID SOCIETY:** In the nation's largest city, New York, there is no machinery provided by law for the defense of the accused poor. The indigent defendant must turn to the Legal Aid Society, founded in 1876.

The LAS conducts its work with funds raised through voluntary contributions. In 1956 it carried a case load of 70,000, including some 28,000 criminal cases. The latter were handled by a staff of 20 lawyers under an attorney-in-charge and an attorney-assistant.

The Society has won high praise for its devotion to the causes of its clients and the zeal with which it represents them. Thousands of new arrivals in New York — Negroes from the inhospitable South, Puerto Ricans from their island homeland, immigrants from Europe — have turned to this poor man's "mouthpiece" in time of need. So have thousands of long-time residents who simply never made a go of things in the big city and got caught in the law's embrace.

**PUBLIC DEFENDERS:** But it takes more than zeal for 20 lawyers adequately to investigate, conduct research, prepare motions and memoranda, and argue 28,000 cases in one year. That turns out to be 1,400 cases per lawyer per year, or 27 for each of 52 weeks. The LAS seems to be faced with the unwelcome choice of reducing its case load or handling it unsatisfactorily. Its greatest need is grants of public funds, permissible in all counties of N.Y. State with 200,000 or more population, with the exception of the counties of New York City.

Just over 40 years ago the first Public Defender's office was established in Los Angeles County. Such offices now exist in 69 cities and counties of the country. Some pubilc defenders are elective posts, others civil service; most are appointive positions. Only three states have pubilc defender systems: Connecticut, Rhode Island and Colorado.

The main advantage of the system is that the defender is not handicapped by lack of funds and staff which plagues voluntary defense efforts or court-appointed counsel. In Los Angeles the staff of investigators in the public defender's office handled 10,000 felony cases, including 300 murder cases, in less than a decade. "Defense detective" has become a new term in the language. In Cook County, Ill., public defenders have been successful in 57% of appeals since 1931.

**STILL UNSOLVED:** Opponents of the system point to the danger of having the defenders paid by the government they oppose. They see the system as a "step toward socialized law." Federal District Judge Edward J. Dimock, who tried one of the Smith Act cases, contends: "Once the state has acquired power over the defense of those whom it has accused, the power of the state would be absolute indeed."

Chief Justice Taft was an early exponent of the public defender system, the American Bar Assn. an early and continuing opponent. The argument remains a live one in legal and legislative circles. During the last decade more than ten bills to create a public defense set-up have been defeated in the New York legislature.

However the question is resolved nationally or in the several states, the problem put by Supreme Court Justice Brennan at the 1957 annual meeting of the LAS remains a vital one: "When only the rich can enjoy the law, as a doubtful luxury, and the poor, who need it most, cannot have it because its expense puts it beyond their reach, the continued existence of a free democracy's very life depends upon making the machinery of justice so effective that every citizen shall believe in and benefit by its impartiality and fairness."

3 AMERICANS CHARGED

# Storm over a boy in a box in Korea

A STORM of protest has arisen in South Korea over the U.S. Army's "lynch style" punishment of Kim Choon Il (below), a 14-year-old shoeshine boy. Kim, charged with petty theft at the Ascom City U.S. air base, was stuffed and nailed into a box 39½ inches by 16¼ by 13 inches, and flown in a helicopter to Uijongbu, 25 miles away.

An Army sergeant cut off his hair, a captain tarred his head, hit him several times and stabbed him with a fruit knife in the arm and just below both knees. When the boy was found "whimpering and in feeble condition," the Korean press complained bitterly and revived a campaign for a status-of-forces agreement with the U.S. Such an agreement would provide for South Korean jurisdiction in cases involving off-duty offenses of U.S. forces.

In response to widespread popular resentment and a specific demand of the South Korean Home Ministry, the Army announced March 7 that it has filed formal charges against the servicemen involved. They are: Maj. Thomas G. James, Plymouth, Pa., pilot; Capt. Marvin E. Kemp, Kilmichael, Miss., beater and stabber; and M/Sgt. Robert E. Weidensaul, Pottsdown, Pa., the barber in the incident.

## *The Fund for Social Analysis*

NOTING THAT "socialist thinking in the U.S. has traditionally neglected analytical and basic theoretical work," a group of individuals interested in aiding Marxist research have established The Fund for Social Analysis "to bring together people who want to encourage such studies and to provide financial assistance toward their production."

The Fund's policy statement also said: "Under the recent pressures for social conformity, research on problems opened up by Marxist theory has dwindled to a particularly low level, [retarding] the socialist and labor movements in our country . . . The Fund [hopes] to correct this situation by providing grants-in-aid for research and publication to social scientists analyzing or applying Marxist hypotheses."

Operating without paid personnel or overhead costs, the fund will distribute in grants all money raised by the sponsors. Grants ranging from $500 to $3,000—more under special circumstances—will be made by a Committee on Awards. The 1958 Awards Committee consists of Frank Coe, Irving Kaplan, Harry Magdoff, Stanley Moore, Russ Nixon, Annette Rubinstein and J. Raymond Walsh.

**HOW TO APPLY:** In granting aid, the Awards Committee will give preference to topics bearing on current problems and on the U.S. over those of purely historical interest and those concerned with other countries. Studies already under way will be given preference over projects merely in outline. The committee's decision will be considered final.

Applicants for grants offered this year should give name and address; outline of project and parts that may have been drafted; publication plans; amount of money requested and proposed use; previous publications, if any; relevant biographical data; such references as applicants may wish to submit. They should enclose extra copies. Applications should be addressed to: The Corresponding Secretary, The Fund for Social Analysis, Room 2800, 165 Broadway, New York.

## Israeli program offered in New York April 9

A PUBLIC SESSION of the Hashomer Hatzair convention will be held on Wed., April 9, at 7:45 p.m. at the Riverside Museum, 310 W. 103rd St., New York City. The program includes a presentation of Israeli songs and dances by the Hashomer Hatzair Chorus and Dance Group; a dramatization of Israeli's War of Liberation; and reading of greetings from the State of Israel and Zionist organizations.

Admission is $1 at the door; 50c for youth and students.

Cummings in London Daily Express
**"If it's tuberculin tested, radioactive proof, chlorophyll scented, deep frozen and pre-wrapped—then maybe, we'll shake it."**

# A hollow crusade

*(Continued from Page 1)*

failing to distinguish between the ideals of the free world and the purposes of international communism."

**MORE MANEUVERS:** The communique ended by authorizing more combined military maneuvers in the Southeast Asia region—presumably to scare Moscow and Peking.

Dulles was reported to have discussed the Indonesian situation with other SEATO members behind closed doors. While the final communique was silent on this issue, he admitted that the State Dept. legal advisers were examining the question of recognizing the Sumatra rebels as a "precautionary measure." Dulles' statement before the House Foreign Affairs Committee had in any case already indicated which side in the Indonesian conflict the U.S. favored.

Dulles had said the U.S. "would be very happy to see the non-communist elements . . . exert a greater influence in the affairs of Indonesia" because President Sukarno's "guided democracy . . . would end up to be communist despotism."

U.S. interests in Indonesia include the heavy investments in Sumatra by Caltex and Stanvac oil companies and the Goodyear and United States Rubber companies. Jakarta reported that government troops have re-occupied the section of Sumatra where the oil fields are located and that oil companies have been asked to resume operations. It seemed evident that the rebels could prolong the conflict only with aid from abroad.

**UNREST IN AFRICA:** Washington's North African allies seemed to be as discontented with U.S. policy as its Southeast Asian allies. Last week Tunisia's President Bourguiba threatened to turn away from the West if U.S. State Dept. trouble shooter Robert Murphy failed to persuade France to evacuate all French

Canard Enchaine, Paris
**Dulles' good offices in Tunisia**

forces and to come to terms with the Algerians. Morocco joined Tunisia in demanding withdrawal of French troops.

President Bourguiba was having a difficult time maintaining his pro-U.S. position. The situation in Tunisia was so tense that Bourguiba was obliged to call off all demonstrations on March 20—Tunisia's independence day—to avoid violence. At GUARDIAN press time Murphy was in Paris trying to devise a compromise solution that would save Bourguiba's face and still be acceptable to France.

Murphy's task was made more difficult by the deterioration of French Premier Gaillard's government, and by the increased belligerency of the right-wing political parties. Despite U.S. economic aid, the Algerian war was bankrupting France, and there was as much tension in Paris as there was in Tunis and Algiers.

**ONE WAY OUT:** Last week thousands of off-duty Paris policemen besieged the National Assembly building, demanding extra pay for duty in areas of Paris where Algerians were concentrated. Right-wing French deputies openly sided with the police. Anti-Semitic shouts were heard among the crowd.

The French government was shot through with dissension: neither the Left nor the Right was united enough to form a stable government capable of ending the Algerian war. Meanwhile Gen. Charles de Gaulle waited in the wings for his cue to enter as the "strong man" to take over the government.

Evidence accumulated that Washington's "crusade" against "communist subversion" and its efforts to protect U.S. capital abroad were creating havoc among friends and neutrals alike. More than ever it was apparent that a resolution of these conflicts depended on a realistic top-level East-West agreement.

**'UNACCEPTABLE': Moscow last week again demonstrated its desire for exploring at a summit meeting paths to peaceful coexistence. It agreed to accept the U.S. proposal for banning the use of outer space for military purposes if the U.S. would agree to liquidate American bases on foreign soil. To Moscow this exchange seemed eminently fair, since otherwise the U.S. would be protected from Soviet ICBM's, leaving the Soviet Union open to attack by nuclear weapons carried by smaller rockets that did not use outer space. The Soviet government suggested a UN commission to supervise both steps.**

Washington immediately found the Soviet proposal "wholly unacceptable." Dulles insisted that a summit meeting must be preceded by substantial agreement on solutions of major issues at a foreign ministers' conference. But, as British Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell noted (CBS, 3/12), this would bring to the summit heads of states only to "sign on the dotted line." Gaitskell added that Moscow was thinking of an "ice-breaking" type of summit conference and "it would be a great pity to turn that down."

# 'Back to work'

*(Continued from Page 1)*

sion in cold war arms spending.

A list of other measures such as improved social security, increased minimum wage from $1 to $1.25 an hour, special action for depressed areas, and wage increases completed the AFL-CIO anti-recession program.

There is nothing new or startling in these AFL-CIO proposals, and nothing to challenge "the system." Actually, except for details, the main elements of the program are being projected by both Republicans and Democrats in Congress. It is doubtful that the AFL-CIO program will catch the imagination of most workers, or prove adequate if unemployment deepens and hardens.

**ISSUES IGNORED:** The shorter work week with no cut in pay was completely ignored, although this goal gains increased urgency as the recession continues. The pending Roosevelt-McNamara Bill to reduce the standard work week from 40 to 35 hours was not mentioned. There was no special attention paid to the unemployment problem of the Negro and other minority groups whose jobless rate is already more than double that of white workers. The idea of opening up our foreign trade to the socialist world was ignored.

The AFL-CIO tax cut proposal was a very minimum one—only a $100 exemption increase in contrast with the proposal of conservative Sens. George, Kerr and Frear during the 1954 recession for a $400 a person exemption rise. The $1.25 minimum wage proposal is less than that urged by several Congressmen in bills now pending in Congress.

The importance of the conference is that with it the AFL-CIO is emerging

Bartlett in Texas Observer
**"We can expect a mild upturn in the Depr———"**

from the storm cellar where for over a year it has been holed up in fear of the McClellan Committee. While only union payrollers attended and there were no unemployed around the fancy Park Sheraton Hotel, the conference was still a move toward action in the right direction.

**BOTH PARTIES BLAMED:** Meany said "the Administration is to blame because it has done too little . . . because it has sought to hide the truth behind a face of political cheerfulness," but he added that "the people on Capitol Hill must share the blame too. Congress need not have waited for Administration leadership." Regarding both parties, he said: "Don't be misled by the political soothsayers and spellbinders from either side . . ."

The conference heard spokesmen for both parties jockeying to blame each other for inaction and to sell their particular brand of "end the slump" medicine. It was clear that a new element of political rivalry is rapidly developing.

The real test now comes—will the AFL-CIO mobilize its millions of members really to fight for full employment? Some regional and state-wide activities are already under way, forced by the serious economic problems in those areas. In Chicago an anti-recession conference has been called by the CIO there for March 22. In Vermont the UE and several AFL-CIO unions are engagd in a push for improved unemployment insurance and more surplus food for the jobless. Some days before the AFL-CIO conference, the fourth legislative conference of the Building Trades and Construction Dept. brought more than 3,000 delegates from all parts of the country into Washington. Three times as large as the later conference of the entire AFL-CIO, the delegates were for the most part rank-and-file building trade workers. They plugged for a job program with special emphasis on the crucial construction industry.

Unemployment can quickly change the bureaucratic paralysis that has afflicted the AFL-CIO leadership. Its limited anti-recession policy will have to be debated and much extended—the force of economic events will require that. Continued unemployment inevitably will enlarge the pressures for wider rank-and-file participation, for more militant legislative and political action. If the recession continues, this conference can mark the beginning of a revival in the American labor movement.

**D**JAMILA BOUHIRED (above), 22-year-old Algerian "Joan of Arc," was captured by the French after being shot in the back. She was tortured and sentenced to death after a trial during which she admitted acting as courier for the Algerian Liberation Front but denied participating in terrorist activities. Her story has been told in a booklet, **Pour Djamila Bouhired,** published by the same press that issued a number of clandestine books during the German occupation. After a worldwide protest, including a plea from UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold, French President Coty commuted her sentence to life imprisonment.

## SEN. LANGER: 'MIGHTY NICE'

# Sobell transfer to Atlanta completed

**T**HE TRANSFER of Morton Sobell from Alcatraz to Atlanta federal prison in Georgia was completed March 7 after a five-day bus trip from Leavenworth, Kansas, where he was held for a weekend stopover. He left Alcatraz early on the morning of Mon., Feb. 24. His wife Helen expects to visit him March 31 and April 1. Sobell was convicted with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1951 for conspiracy to commit espionage and sentenced to 30 years in prison. He had been in Alcatraz since 1952.

One of the first to congratulate Mrs. Sobell on the transfer was the Rev. Peter McCormack, now-retired Protestant chaplain at Alcatraz, who wrote:

"Now that the first step has been taken, we will continue to believe that right will triumph and our hopes be fulfilled."

Sen. William Langer, whom Mrs. Sobell visited in her husband's behalf, wrote: "It is just mighty nice . . ." Dr. Stephen Love of Northwestern U. Law School called the transfer "a tremendous step toward freedom and vindication;" and Prof. Malcolm Sharp, author of **Was Justice Done in the Rosenberg-Sobell Case?** expressed satisfaction that "changes for the better are indeed possible." Author Waldo Frank expressed the hope that the "day of freedom" might be very near "for your unjustly prosecuted husband."

## Dr. Condon speaks Mar. 28

**T**HE EMERGENCY Civil Liberties Committee is sponsoring a roundtable discussion on "Scientists, Teachers and Security" at the New Yorker Hotel Friday evening, March 28. The discussion leader will be Dr. Edward U. Condon, eminent physicist and former director of the National Bureau of Standards.

Others participating will be Dr. Stringfellow Barr, historian and author of the recent novel **Purely Academic,** and Victor Rabinowitz, counsel for the Teachers Union of New York. I. F. Stone, editor of **I. F. Stone's Weekly,** will be the moderator. Audience participation is planned.

BOOKS

# Darrow: Attorney for the damned

ON MARCH 13, 1938, Clarence Darrow died. On March 13, 1958, Nathan Leopold walked out of Stateville Prison in Illinois, a free man after 33 years, on his way to take a job in a mission hospital in Puerto Rico for $10 a month.

When Leopold and his friend Richard Loeb were teen-agers in 1924 the nation seemed to be panting for their death. The press called them "monsters." They had killed 14-year-old Bobby Franks. Against the call for blood and vengeance Clarence Darrow spoke all of one August day to stem a senseless tide. To those who said: "Give them the same mercy they gave Bobby Franks," Darrow said: "If the state in which I live is not kinder, more humane, more considerate, more intelligent than the mad act of these two boys, I am sorry that I have lived so long."

While the gory details of the crime were sopped up in tons of newsprint, Darrow said: "There is not an act in all this horrible tragedy that was not the act of a child, the act of a child wandering around in the morning of life, moved by the new feelings of a boy, moved by the uncontrolled impulses which his teaching was not strong enough to take care of, moved by the dreams and hallucinations which haunt the brain of a child." He summed up: "I am pleading for the future; I am pleading for a time when hatred and cruelty will not control the hearts of men, when we can learn by reason and judgment and understanding and faith that all life is worth saving, and that mercy is the highest attribute of man."

THOUGH HE SAVED Leopold and Loeb from death, the future that Darrow pleaded for has been indefinitely postponed. Twenty years after his death the State of New York is trying to kill seven other children —"wandering around in the morning" of their lives—for another crime, and other lawyers must take up Darrow's fight against a cry for blood.

The jury trying New York's seven probably will reach their verdict before they can read Darrow's plea for Leopold and Loeb. It is a pity, for it might move them beyond anything they are likely to hear in court. But others can now read that summation in this selection of Darrow's most famous speeches*

They constitute a monument to Darrow, but monuments are solemn things. Darrow's speeches are warm as flesh and blood. They portray the man who made them: his compassion, his tolerance for everything but intolerance, his passion for freedom and his humor that had a touch of Mark Twain.

THIS VOLUME is more than a portrait of Darrow, though that would be reason enough for reading it; it is a collection of glowing chapters on the battles that face Americans in this generation.

We have had Smith Act trials, and here is Darrow defending 20 Communists bagged in the Palmer raids of 1920. We have had the Braden case, and here is Darrow's defense of Henry Sweet who helped stand off a Detroit mob bent on destroying his family because they were Negroes and had dared move into a white part of town. We have labor leaders going to prison, and here is Darrow defending Bill Haywood and his fellow unionists in Idaho: Darrow defending the United Mine Workers in Pennsylvania and unionists in Oshkosh. Academic freedom "under God" is now embattled, and here is Darrow arguing a teacher's right to teach evolution. Lastly, lawyers are now being penalized for defending unpopular clients, and here is Darrow defending himself against an attempted frame-up on jury-bribing charges.

Darrow was a home-grown radical. His father had been an abolitionist and the house he lived in, in Kinsman, Ohio, had been a station on the Underground Railway. He once said: "To me people are not simply white or black—they are freckled." He was a member of the NAACP.

Darrow knew the industrial system from many angles. He was attorney for the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad in 1894 when the American Railway Union went on strike.

WHEN THE RAILROAD sought a Federal injunction against the strikers, Darrow resigned and went into court representing the union officers, including its president, Eugene V. Debs. He turned aside praise for that switch by saying: "Like the man who buys 10c worth of relief from the beggar on the street, I am buying relief too."

When he defended the 20 Communists of 1920 he based himself on the Constitutional rights of free speech but he did not ignore the defendants' views. It was a contest of ideas as well as a libertarian defense. Darrow said: "I do not know whether socialism or communism will work or not. I do know that capitalism does not work. I do know that our present system of industry is a crazy-quilt that allows no man to be really honest, that allows no man to live without sacrificing his fellow-man."

He made mince-meat of pushing young district attorneys, reminding the jury that "the fewer ideas men have the surer they are that they are right." Bosses were not treated deferentially; in the case of the Oshkosh unionists, Darrow told the jury: "Why, gentlemen, the only difference that I can see between the state's prison and George M. Paine's factory is that Paine's men are not allowed to sleep on the premises."

IN THE AFTERGLOW of World War I prosecutors still wrapped themselves in the flag, but Darrow said: "There is something that I believe in more than I do in my own country, and that is human freedom. I have loved America first of all because she stood for this. Make us a nation of slaves and I shall love it no more."

Darrow was not a lawyer's lawyer; he was a people's lawyer. Justice William O. Douglas, in a foreword to this collection, says: "His words were the simple discourse of ordinary conversation. They had the power of deep conviction, the strength of any plea for fair play, the pull of every protest against grinding down the faces of the poor, the appeal of humanity against forces of greed and exploitation." Darrow was far above legalisms. He said he never understood what justice was and fought instead for mercy.

For contemporary progressives reading these speeches an element of sadness may creep into the realization that, though Darrow won many battles, the same war still rages. But they can take heart from the knowledge that while Darrow suspected that the war he fought was unending he felt it worth the fighting. Perhaps it was enough to have lived and fought so well.

—Elmer Bendiner

**ATTORNEY FOR THE DAMNED, edited and with notes by Arthur Weinberg, foreword by Justice William O. Douglas. Simon and Schuster. 630 Fifth Av., N.Y.C. 552 pp. $6.50.*

"I BEG . . . I BESEACH YOU TO GRANT ME THE GIFT OF PRIVACY . . ."
*That's what Nathan Leopold said to the reporters when he came out of prison on March 13—and this is what happened to him. As the reporters pushed toward him, one shouted: "Do you feel free?" He replied: "I feel a little hemmed in right now." He said he had made a pledge to avoid publicity.*

CLARENCE DARROW
*His war goes on*

SCOTT AND HELEN NEARING

# *A report on socialists around the world*

CONTINUING THEIR ROUTINE of raising food in New England half the year and traveling and lecturing the other half—and writing all the time—the Helen and Scott Nearings now report to us on their world tour in 1956-57.*

From this good tree comes a good, if sparse, yield of fruit. Problems and dilemmas of Canadian and West European socialists are illuminatingly summarized in interviews from Saskatchewan to Scandinavia.

The Nearings have a good deal to add here to their **U.S.A. Today** report on the decline of the U.S. Left, and the frustrations of trade union and other progressive militants in the witch-hunt era. They pay a deserved tribute to the "Barbara Fritchies" of America who refuse to haul down the progressive flag.

This reader was impatient for the Nearings' report on their new experiences and contacts in Asia, but less than half of their book is devoted to this. Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand and Burma are hardly mentioned except to report that they went there.

THE SECTION ON INDIA includes an evocative picture of an audience listening quietly and patiently to Nehru, the personification as he addressed them of "the highest tradition of political maturity." Indian socialists talked about the necessity to support Nehru's "anti-doctrinaire" policies, and on the other hand about Nehru's "illogical and contradictory position," which "is made easier because of the divisions of the Left," and the prospects of counter-revolution when he dies.

Of all the newly-met friends, the young Japanese socialists impressed the travelers most deeply. In Hong Kong, the Nearings describe a ludicrous episode with a U.S. agent who suspected them of wanting to go to China. (They admitted the charge but regretted that they couldn't go "this time.") Four pages on Ceylon are devoted to the presence there of a Chinese delegation who were able to show both the Nearings and the Ceylonese that they were "no ogres."

Whatever the Nearings write is worth progressives' careful attention, because of their long experience and the deep convictions which they take the trouble to spell out in definitions of the terms they use. The second part of this book is readable introductory reportage to the book on Asia which they should, and I think will, give us.

Such a book, leading up to solid conclusions about the continent to which the world spotlight is shifting, can hardly be written by socialists without a visit to the new China, the yardstick by which all national liberation struggles must now be measured.

—Cedric Belfrage

**SOCIALISTS AROUND THE WORLD, by Helen & Scott Nearing. Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., N.Y. 14. 160 pp. $3.*

## Frankly, the word must have gone out the window

*From the transcript of Secy. Dulles' March 4 press conference:* DULLES: We do not want to be a party to what would be a fraud, or a hoax, and put across a [summit] meeting which would not actually deal with anything of significance and which would merely be a spectacle.

*From the transcript of President Eisenhower's March 5 press conference:* REPORTER: Mr. President, yesterday Mr. Dulles used strong language with words like "hoax" and "fraud" in describing the Russian proposal. Do you feel this still leaves the door open, or is this an effort to attempt to close the door . . . .

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I read every word of his press conference, and I—frankly—and frankly say that I don't recall the word "fraud," and I am sure he didn't mean to close any doors.

DEPRESSION REPORT FROM CHICAGO

# All labor is feeling the pinch

Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO

BEHIND THE COLD statistics of growing economic sickness are human beings, confronted again with hard times.

Dwight D. Guilfoil Jr. asks: "Don't they realize there are people involved?" Last year Guilfoil was named by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the nation's ten outstanding young men. A paraplegic, he had organized an electronics firm which employed 110 workers, all physically handicapped and a third of them paraplegics. Today, all but 20 workers have been laid off, and this handful is working a three-day week.

Chicago, with its wide range of industry, is traditionally less affected by economic ups-and-downs than Detroit and other one-industry centers. In the past, for example, the chronic depression in farm equipment manufacture was counter-balanced by the boom in construction and other industries. Today, however, nearly every branch of Chicago's complex economic life is feeling the pinch. This includes railroads, steel, steel fabrication, farm equipment and earth-moving machinery, electronics, meat packing and building construction. In many lines, skilled workers as well as semi-skilled cannot find work.

**DISASTER FOR SOME:** Between 6 and 7% of the normal working force are drawing unemployment checks, but this figure is far short of the full total of unemployed and it does not reflect the many plants on short work weeks, such as the South Side Ford assembly plant which is now down to two days a week.

The "recession" has become a major concern for the average worker; for minority groups it is assuming disaster proportions. This is true of the newcomers, white and Negro, from the rural areas of the South, who have been pouring in at a rate of thousands each month. Many of these workers are ineligible for unemployment compensation and lack the year's residence in Cook County to qualify for relief.

Of the 350,000 Negro workers in the Chicago area, one in five is now unemployed. A spot check of Puerto Rican men workers shows one in three without a job. Only 67 new Puerto Ricans registered in last month, as compared with a past average of 350, and many are now returning home. White workers are tending to displace Negro workers from certain less preferred occupations, where Negro workers have predominated in the past.

**RELIEF CRISIS:** Cook and Du Page County relief rolls are now at a 15-year high. State funds, which make up the lion's share, will run out by November, eight months ahead of schedule.

The Cook County Industrial Union Council has called an all-day conference on unemployment for Sat., March 22, to plan a program for jobs.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS FROM THE USSR IN ENGLISH

FICTION

F. Dostoevsky
THE INSULTED AND HUMILIATED (Novel) ......459 pp. $1.25
L. Tolstoi
RESURRECTION
(Novel) Color. Illus. ..674 pp. 1.50
V. Kataev
THE COTTAGE IN THE STEPPE (Novel) Illus. 379 pp. $1.25
M. LERMONTOV
A HERO OF OUR TIME
(Novel) Illus.
DeLuxe Ed. .........174 pp. $1.50
Lev Kassil
EARLY DAWN
(Novel) Profusely Illus.
in color. ............384 pp. $1.50
N. Cherkasov
NOTES OF A SOVIET ACTOR
Prof. Illus. .........228 pp. $1.50
V. Yermilov
A. P. CHEKHOV (1860-1904)
Biog. Study. Illus. ..415 pp. $1.25

POCKET SIZE EDITION

A. Kazantsev
AGAINST THE WIND
(Short Stories) .....190 pp. .50
K. Paustovsky
THE FLIGHT OF TIME
(New Stories) ...... 99 pp. .25
Rytkhen
OLD MEMYL LAUGHS LAST
(Short Stories) .....198 pp. .25
I. Aramilev
ON THE TRAIL
(Stories of a Hunter) 346 pp. .35
V. Ovechkin
COLLECTIVE FARMS SIDELIGHTS
(Short Stories) .....208 pp. .25
P. Cvirka
SEEDS OF FRATERNITY
(Stories) Illus. ......159 pp. .25
B. Polevoi
HE CAME BACK
(A Story) ..........138 pp. .25
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## Sobell case meeting in Brooklyn March 30

A PUBLIC meeting has been set by the Brownsville-East New York Committee to Free Morton Sobell to bring the issues of the case to the community for Sunday, March 30, 8 p.m., at Sunrise Manor, 1638 Pitkin Av., Brooklyn.

Featured speaker will be Yuri Suhl, author and poet. A film of the Sobell story will also be shown. Admission is 49c.

# CALENDAR

## Chicago

Join in Tribute to
**PAUL ROBESON on his 60th BIRTHDAY**
**WED., APRIL 9,** 32 W. Randolph St., Hall C-2. Adm. 90c. 8 p.m. sharp.
Mr. Robeson will speak and autograph his new book, "Here I Stand." Tickets from Rm. 403, 189 W. Madison, AN 3-1877

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**SATURDAY, APRIL 19TH**
**Dr. Barrows Dunham**
will speak on
**"THE NATURE OF HERESY"**
Watch for further details.

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**PROF. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN,** author of "Russia Since 1917," speaks on "USSR Since 1917," Hall B-2, 32 W. Randolph, Tues., March 25, 8 p.m. Adm. 90c. Ausp: Chi. Counc. of American-Soviet Friendship.

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**THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST FOURTH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET**
Speakers: Bert Cochran, Kermit Eby, William Appleman Williams
"Th Crisis of the 20th Century"
**Sat., March 29, 6:30 p.m.**
Greetings by: Attorney Irving Abrams, Secy. Pioneer Aid & Support Assn., Ernest DeMaio, Vice-Pres. United Electrical Workers; Rev. Alva Tompkins, Pastor Olivet Presbyterian Church. **ESSEX HALL,** 74th & Blackstone Av. Dinner Don. $3; Students, $2. Reservations call **FA 4-7357.**

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**Sun., March 30, 8 p.m., at 14933 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys.** Don: **$1. Ausp: Valley** Unitarian Pub. Forum.

## San Francisco

Hear **SCOTT NEARING'S**
Report of Nov. and Dec., 1957, visit **"THE SOVIET UNION REVISITED AFTER 20 YEARS."** He met the leaders, talked with the people, saw the newest developments. **FRI., APRIL 4, 8 p.m.** 150 Golden Gate Av. Adm: 50c. Ausp: American-Russian Institute—UN 1-3813

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—8:30—Herbert Aptheker
**TOWARDS NEGRO FREEDOM**
—Sidney Finkelstein
**MUSIC AND THE PEOPLE** (recordings)

Wednesdays—6:30—Herbert Aptheker
**NEW PROBLEMS IN THEORY**
—8:30—Herbert Aptheker
**OUR COUNTRY AND OUR TIMES**

Thursdays—6:30—Harry K. Wells
**DIALECTICS: HEGEL TO MAO**
—Harold Collins
**ESSENTIALS OF MARXISM**
8:30—Harry K. Wells
**PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY**
—Harold Collins
**SIX MILESTONES OF MARXISM**

Fridays—8:30—REVIEW OF THE WEEK
A survey of current events
Sundays—8:30—SUNDAY FORUMS
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**REVIEWS OF THE WEEK**
Fri., March 21, 8:30 p.m.
**"DEPRESSION ROUND THE CORNER?"**
- How serious is the "dip"?
- What is labor's outlook?

**GEORGE MORRIS,** Labor Editor, The Worker.

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Friday, March 28, 8:30 p.m.
**"WHAT WE WANT OF OUR SCHOOLS"**
- Delinquency and the IQ Hoax
- Integration and Democracy

**HAROLD COLLINS,** Lecturer

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**Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.**
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Monday, March 24, 8:30 p.m.
**"SOCIALISM & U.S. CAPITALISM"**
Lecture in new series on
"Key Problems of U.S. Socialism"
**HYMAN LUMER,** author,
"War Economy and Crisis"

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Tuesday, March 25, 8:30 p.m.
**"MUSIC—RUSSIAN, POLISH, CZECH"**
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"Music and the People"
**SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN,** author
"Realism in Art"

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Wednesday, March 26, 8:30 p.m.
**"AMERICA'S POWER TO PRODUCE"**
Lecture in the new series on
"Our Country and Our Times"
**HERBERT APTHEKER,** Editor
"Political Affairs"

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Thursday, March 27, 8:30 p.m.
**"NEO-FREUDIANS IN THE U.S.**
Lecture in the new series on
"Psychology and Psychiatry"
**HARRY K. WELLS,** author
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**SUNDAY EVENING FORUMS**
Sunday, March 23, 8:30 p.m.
**"MARX—75 YEARS AFTER"**
A survey of impact of Marx's teachings on the world, 75 yrs. after his death March 14, 1883.
**HYMAN LUMER,** Nat'l Ed. Dep't., Communist Party of the U. S.

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Sun., March 30, 8:30 p.m.
**"WORLD YOUTH— PEACE & FRIENDSHIP"**
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Tues., March 25, 8:30-10 p.m.

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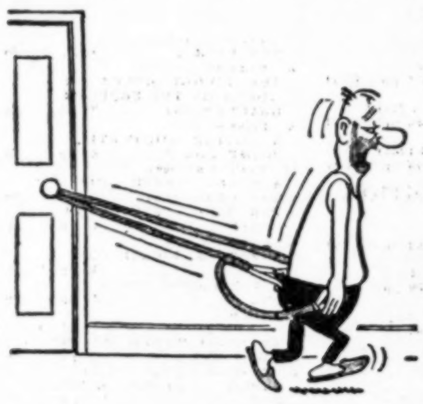
# THE GALLERY

**ABOUT A YEAR AGO** a Volkswagen pulled into Westerland on the North Sea island of Sylt in W. Germany. The car bore the markings: "South German Kultur-film, Munich" and in it were two cameramen. They reported to the office of Mayor Heinz Reinefarth and told him they had come to make a documentary film of his city, a well-known health resort. Reinefarth, in good public relations style, offered full assistance. This included getting himself in the center of most of the scenes. After shooting several reels, the cameramen thanked their host and rolled off in their car headed east.

While Reinefarth and Westerland businessmen prepared for the rush of new vacationers the film would bring, it opened in East Germany, on TV and in theaters. It was titled **Vacation on Sylt,** but it was not likely to foster tourism to Westerland. Instead, it was a documentary on Reinefarth himself, showing Nazi newsreels of him as a high officer in the Hitler Elite Guard and as a general of police in occupied Poland at the time the SS committed some of the worst atrocities of the war.

The film was part of a series titled **The Archives Speak,** produced by Andelie and Andrew Thorndike for the E. German government. Their purpose is to show "what people who were around Hitler, but who never got much publicity, are doing today." Back in Westerland, Herr Mayor was not expecting a good season.

**IN WEISBADEN, W. GERMANY,** Valentin Korn was sentenced to two and one-half years at hard labor, fined $23,600 and barred from his trade for five years. Korn was a wine-maker who had found a way of "improving" Rhine wines. His technique included pumping carbonic acid into a stale compound and bottling it as "champagne." At his trial the prosecutor declared: "The faith of the world in German wine has been shaken to the depths." . . . Scientists of the U. of Chicago have created a computing device called "Mathematical Analyzer, Numerical Integrator and Computer," known familiarly from its initials as MANIAC. This is actually MANIAC II. MANIAC I, the first model, was used in development of the H-Bomb.



London Daily Mirror
**"I feel lousy this morning, Dear, just can't seem to drag myself around."**

**A BARTENDER REPORTS** that a new favorite drink is the Eisenhower Cocktail: Business on the rocks. . . . Roger Babson (is he still around?) thinks that "prosperity rests on the salesman." . . . The House Ways and Means Committee struck a blow against the recession by recommending that the duty on imported muzzle-loading revolvers be removed and the duty be drastically reduced on imported harpsichords and eviscerated pigeons . . . . An Executive Equipment Corp. ad in the N.Y. **Times** read: "If You Talk Depression You'll Have One! Business Has Never Been Better. Put your best foot forward now. Go modern. Lease the automobile which denotes success! Lease a 1958 Cadillac."

**GEORGE NORFORD** became the first Negro producer in network television when NBC assigned him to a 13-week series titled, **What Is Jazz?** . . . Speaker Marvin Moate interrupted a session of the Georgia House of Representatives, pointed to the gallery and shouted: "Tell those Negroes to get over into the colored section . . . We have segregation in Georgia." The group left the building and the legislature went on to its business which was to vote down a bill which would have required racial labeling of blood used in transfusions. One opponent said: "If I'm dying, I don't care whose blood it is if it will save my life." . . . Rep. Howard W. Smith (D.-Va.), who gave his name in eternal glory to the Smith Act, will run for reelection to his 15th term. He is not opposed in the Democratic primary.

—Robert E. Light

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## THE MAIL BAG

*Last Jan. 6 the GUARDIAN published a review of Rexford Guy Tugwell's book,* The Democratic Roosevelt, *by Vincent Hallinan, 1952 presidential candidate of the Progressive Party. The review, which was critical of FDR, stirred up considerable discussion and on Feb. 17 the GUARDIAN published two dissenting views by Adam Lapin, formerly of the* Peoples World, *and C. B. Baldwin, former secretary of the Progressive Party and an outstanding New Dealer in the Roosevelt Administration. Since then GUARDIAN readers have been having their say and some of their letters follow:*

### Power of people

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

I don't think the three pieces on FDR (Vincent Hallinan, Adam Lapin, C. B. Baldwin) constituted much of even the beginning of a controversy. Also I doubt that a controversy on FDR and the New Deal is of particular importance right now. Better something on Truman and Hoover. Imagine their carting the latter old goat over to Valley Forge to make the same speech! But it is true, I grant, that there has been a forgetting on a large scale, particularly among the folks whose way of life underwent such radical change.

Why not examine Truman and let Roosevelt—who left genial memories as well as anxious ones—rest. So he was "machine." Vince's article nags and picks. His big difficulty is that he was not part of the '30's from our end of it. We know the power of people in action, what they did achieve in changing the Washington and national scene and what they lost so quickly because there was no Big Idea toward which they were moving. Some say FDR disarmed the Left; I think it more apt that the Left surrendered its arms, believing one day of sunshine would become an eternity of the same.

But I think Lapin made too damned clear in his opening that the Republicans are his enemy. That means his position is pro-Democrat, yes? Tell him to write it on the wall; we'll get it as we go out.

Name Withheld

### Down with profits

HAVERHILL, MASS.

If Roosevelt had been backed by the Supreme Court for the full distance that his own individual courage had impelled him to go, his move to regulate wages and prices would have been an opportunity to reach a high peak of socialistic accomplishment; because in the regulation of wages and prices (if that is possible in a capitalist country) the profit which is the difference between wages and prices, would have been controlled. A control of profits (if it is possible in a capitalist system) could lead to a steady reduction in profits in the direction of final elimination.

M. I. L.

### Necessary dissection

SANTA FE, N.M.

I wish Adam Lapin would read Dr. Beard's **President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War; a Study in Appearances and Reality,** as suggested by Vincent Hallinan. I don't see how we can progress much beyond the philosophy of the New Deal if we refuse to dissect it and its leaders carefully for all to see. An autopsy performed by stone-ax wielding Neanderthals of the Republican Party will not reveal the knowledge needed by us in order to unite in a new political alliance. The American people need a better understanding of American economics and politics if they are to reach even the first step of realization that the two old parties of today cannot solve the problems of the atomic age.

Tom Sanders

### Clever, demagogic

BRENTWOOD, CALIF.

I support the position of Mr. Hallinan on Roosevelt. He has begun a job long overdue: an honest estimation of a clever, demagogic friend of capitalism who was able to get mass support to further the interests of capitalism and to betray the true interests of the people.

Hal Driggs

### Not FDR's choice

CHICAGO, ILL.

Roosevelt promised the mothers of America that their boys would not be sent into any foreign wars. As far as I am concerned, Roosevelt never broke that promise.

It was not until the bombs were dropped on Pearl Harbor that our country became involved in the Second World War, and then it was no longer a question of sending troops into foreign wars, we were involved whether we wished to be or not.

Every reactionary in the country, and particularly the Chicago **Tribune**, seizes upon this one point, this promise made by Roosevelt to American mothers, to blacken the entire history of the New Deal and to blacken the history of Roosevelt's administration.

John D. Reinke

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Dispatch

**WASHINGTON POWERHOUSE**

### Other times, other tools

LORAIN, O.

The key fact in the Lapin-Baldwin-Hallinan debate on the Roosevelt Era is in the concluding statement of Hallinan's reply to Lapin: "Even with its decor of the New Deal, the Democratic Party is only, at best, 'a surrey with the fringe on top'." In other words, says Hallinan—conceding the positive, progressive features about FDR and the New Deal that Baldwin and Lapin wish to make—the over-riding fact today is, we are now in a different era from the FDR era.

Therefore, inasmuch as the economic-technological conditions of the past decade and a half have shattered the pre-war social-political mold, a brand new mold—a socialist mold—must now be cast into shape.

R. Grant

### Going up!

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Wm. C. Randolph